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A SEASONABLE MEMORIAL IN SOME HISTORICAL NOTES UPON THE LIBERTIES OF THE PRESSE and PULPIT: WITH THE Effects of Popular Petitions, Tumults, Associations, Impostures, and Disaffected Common Councils.

The Second Edition.

To all *Good Subjects* and *True Protestants*.

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A Seaſonable MEMORIAL, &c.

THis Title may perhaps give the Reader an expectation, if not a Curioſity to hear more then the Authour is willing to tell him: For it is his intent, only to expoſe the Miſtery of the *Contrivance*, of our late Troubles, without the names of the *Perſons*; and to ſhew that the great work of Deſtroying *three Kingdoms* was only the Project, and Influence of a Private Cabal: and that the Rebellion it ſelf was excited and carry'd on by the Force, rather of an *Impoſture* then of a *Confederacy*; the Generality of the people, being powerfully, and artificially Poſſeſs'd by the pretended Patrons of our Religious, and Civill Liberties, that *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* were breaking in upon us, and the deſign promoted by the Intereſt of a Court-Faction; It could not chuſe but create in them the tendereſt affection imaginable for the one Party, and as violent a Deteſtation for the other: Eſpecially conſidering that the *Perſon* and *Authority* of the *King* were as yet *Sacred*; and not any man opened his Mouth, but for his *Honour*, and *ſafety*; the *Purity* of the *Goſpel*, and the Peace of the *Kingdome*. For ſuch was the Reverence the Nation had, at that time, for the *King*; and the *Law*, that the leaſt word againſt the Government had ſpoyl'd all.

This *Double-refining ſpirit* came into the World, even with *the Reformation it ſelf*; when by flying from one Extream to another, it left the Truth in the middle; which *Calvin* himſelf takes notice of in a Letter to the *Protector* (in *Ed.* 6.) *There are two ſorts of Seditious men* (ſays he, ſpeaking of the *Papiſts* and the *Puritans*) *and againſt both theſe muſt the ſword be drawn; For they oppoſe the King, and God himſelf.* It was the ſame Spirit that mov'd the Diſtemper afterward at *Frankford*; and the ſame ſtill, that made ſuch havock in *Scotland*, and flew in the face of Q. *Eliz.* her *Parliaments* and *Councill*: till ſhe was forced to ſuppreſs it by Severity and Rigour. Her ſucceſſor King *James*, after a long Perſecution in *Scotland*, and a freſh attempt upon him

at *Hampton Court*, by the ſame Faction; took them up roundly, once for all, and ſo paſt the reſt of his days in ſome meaſure of quiet. But the Plot ſucceeded better under King *Charles*; when taking advantage of his Majeſties neceſſities, with the Infinite goodneſs of his Nature, that made him apt to believe the beſt of all men, and a Popular mixture in the Houſe of Commons, that was ſtill ready for their turn, they purſu'd him with *Remonſtrance* upon *Remonſtrance*, through *four Parliaments*; and at laſt by the help of the *Act* for the continuance of the *Parliament*, *Tumults*, and that *Execrable Libel* of *Dec.* 15. 1641. Entitled, *A Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdome*, they accompliſhed their ends, under the Countenance of the *Fifth*. By what ſteps, and Methods they gained their Point, comes now to be conſider'd.

The Schiſm led the way to the Sedition.

Their firſt advance toward a *Sedition*, was the introducing of a *Schiſm*; by diſtinguiſhing themſelves, under the Name of the *Godly Party*, from the reſt of the Nation: which they found to be the ſafeſt way of approach, and the moſt plauſible expedient. To this end they brought in *Lecturers* over the Heads of *Parochial Miniſters*; whoſe maintenance being dependent upon the Faction, made them wholly at the devotion of their Patrons.

Emiſſaries in Corporations.

They had their *Emiſſaries* alſo in all Corporations, and Populous parts of the Kingdom, that were appointed as *Feoffees*, to deal for *Impropriations*, under the charitable pretext of making a better *Proviſion* for the *Miniſtry*. And theſe were men of publick buſineſs in the World, as Clergy-men, Lawyers, *&c.* well known, and made famous for their Zeal, by the Reputation of ſo pious an Undertaking. By this project they advanced conſiderable Sums of Money; but the Incumbents little the better for it: For either it ſtuck to the *Feoffees* fingers, or it was applyed to other uſes; and with the *Tithe* of a *Parſonage* in one place, a *Lecture* was ſet up in another.

After the Choice of fit Inſtruments; their next work was to ſecure them from any trouble of *Church-Cenſures*: To which end, they bought ſome *Headſhip* or other in an Univerſity, for ſome Eminent man of their own way, for the training up of

Seminaries of Novices.

Novices in their Diſcipline. And then they had a kind of a *Practical Seminary* at St. *Antholins* in *London*; where their Diſciples were in a manner, upon a Probation, for Abilities, and Affections: and out of this Nurſery they furniſh'd moſt of their New-bought *Impropriations*.

Theſe

These young *Emissaries* of theirs had their Salary, and were subordinate to a *Classis* or *Clero-Laicall Consistory*, to be transplanted at their pleasure. And yet this Consistory did not so strictly confine themselves to their Own Members; but upon Letters Testimonial from the Patriarchs of the Party, that such or such a man was fit for their turn; or had given proof of his fidelity to the Cause, by undergoing some sentence for contemning the Orders of the Church, and persisting Obstinately in that disobedience: to such a man, (I say) in such a Case, they commonly allow'd a Preference. And the better to avoid the danger of the Spiritual Courts, they made it their business to provide *Commissaries* of their Own Leaven, where they had any special Plantation. And Lastly, to make sure of their Agents, that they should not fall off when they had serv'd their own turns, they kept them only as *Pentioners at pleasure*, and liable to be turn'd out at any time, either if they cool'd in the *Holy Cause*, or fail'd of Preaching according to the direction of the *Conclave*.

Their Agents were upon their behaviour.

Let it be noted here by the by, that the design and mischief of those *Lecturers*, when they could not so well Congregate in *Private Meetings*, is, in our days, supply'd, if not outdone, by a greater number of *Conventicles*; to the very same Intent; and God grant it prove not with the like effect.

Their Lecturers are supply'd by our Conventic'es.

They were as yet but upon the *Preparatory* to the great work of their *Thorough Reformation*; which in plain *English* was the *Dissolution* of the *Government*. So that the Pulpits had nothing more to do at present, then to dispose and accomodate the Humours and Affections of the People. The Common Subject of the Pulpit (and they all sung the same Song) was *First* to irritate the Multitude against Popery: which had been well enough, if they had not, *Secondly*, by sly Insinuations, under the Notion of *Arminianism*, intimated the Church of *England* to be leaning that way. By this Artifice the People were quickly brought into a dislike of the *English Communion*; and by degrees into as fierce an Aversion to the One Church, as to the Other. Now whatsoever the *Government Lost*, the *Faction Gain'd*: And those *Pedantique Levites*, that brought so many dreadfull Judgements upon this Nation themselves; were by the Credulous, Tumultuary Rabble cry'd up and Idolized, as the very *Moses*'s that stood in the Gap to avert them. Having by this means render'd the Government *Odious*, and given some credit

The People were poyson'd from the Pulpit.

to

to the *Schism*; their next Instruction was, to make Proclamation of the Numbers, the quality and the sobriety of the Persons aggrieved; to possesse the outside with a confidence, and the other with an apprehension of their strength! *Thousands of Souls ready to Famish*, (they cry) *for want of the Bread of Life. How many Insufficient, negligent and scandalous Pastors? How many Congregations destitute of able, Faithfull Teachers; Preaching in season and out of season, and labouring in the Word? Alas! they dare not consent to any Addition to, or Diminution of Christs Worship, or to the Use of the Inventions of Men, in Gods Service. They desire only the Freedom that Christ and his Apostles have left unto the Churches; and to serve God according to the Example of the best Reformed Churches abroad. This is the Case of Thousands of the upright of the Land.* Let it be understood, that the *Presse* all this while kept pace with the *Pulpit*; only now and then there started out a Party upon the Forelorn, to make Discoveries, and try the Temper of the Government. Some scap'd, and others were taken and censur'd; as *Leighton*, *Burton*, *Prin*, and *Bastwick*, who only shew'd themselves inconsiderately before their Friends were ready to Second them.

The boast of their Numbers.

We shall see now how they changed their stile with their Condition; and how their boldness encreased with their Interest. Their grievances at first, were only a dark and a doubtfull Prospect of *Popery*, and *Popish Innovations* afar off; and an anxiety of thought for the calamities that were coming upon Gods People through the corruptions of the Times. But success opening their Eyes, they are coming now to discover more and more Popery nearer hand: They find the *Church-men* to be *Popishly affected*; the *Liturgy* to be no other then an *English Mass-Book*; the *Hierarchy* it self and all the *Courts*, and *Officers* depending upon it, to be directly *Anti-Christian*: They charge his Majesty to be *Popishly affected*, and all that will not renounce him, to be either flat *Papists* or *Worse*, imposing *Protestations*, *Covenants*, *Engagements* of *Confederacy* against both *King* and *Church*; and Oaths of *Abjuration*: as the *Tests* of a *Loyall Protestant*: passing an *Anathema* upon any man that interposes betwixt their malice, and their Soveraign: They prostitute the Sacred Function for Mony; they suck the blood of *Widdows* and of *Orphans*; *By* violence taking possession of *Eighty five Livings* at one clap, out of *Ninety seven*, within the Walls of *London*; exposing so many Reverend, and Loyall Divines with their Families, to the wide World

They grow upon the Government.

World to beg their Bread: They Preach the People into *Murther*, *Sacriledge*, and *Rebellion*, they purſue a moſt gracious *Prince* to the *Scaffold*; they animate the *Regicides*, calling *that Execrable Villany* an Act of *Publique Juſtice*, and Entitling the *Holy Ghoſt* to the Treaſon.

If this General recital of the Riſe and Progreſs of their Actings be true; the Reader has here before him the Iſſue, and the drift of their pretended *Scruples*, the Expoſition of their *Proteſtations*, *Covenants*, and *Deſigns*: wherein it cannot but be obſerv'd how their *Conſciences* widen'd with their *Intereſts*: And this may ſerve to ſatisfy any man, whither People are then a going, when they come to tread in the ſame ſteps. But however, for a further ſupport to the credit to this Memorial, we ſhall now ſubjoyn ſome undeniable Evidences of the whole matter, out of their Own words and Writings: where we ſhall finde Mr. *Hookers* ſaying made good, in the Preface to his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*. *What other ſequel* (ſays he) *can any wiſe man imagine but this*; *that having Firſt reſolved, that attempts for Diſcipline* without *Superiours are* Lawfull, *it will follow in the next place to be diſputed what may be attempted* againſt *Superiours*. But now to our Proofs, which we ſhall give you from Point to Point, and from the very *Rabbies* of the *Schiſm*.

They ſquar their Conſciences to their Intereſts.

First as to the CHURCH. *Good People* (ſays *Burton*) *lie under Bondage of Conſcience in point of* Liturgy. 2dly. *In bondage of Conſcience under* Ceremonies, 3dly. *Of Conſcience under* Diſcipline. 4ly. *Of Conſcience under* Government. Burton on *Pſal.* 53. 7. 8. *Jun.* 20. 1641.

How the Preſence and Preaching of Chriſt did ſcorch and blaſt thoſe Cathedrall Prieſts, that Unhallowed Generation of Scribes and Phariſees! Pa. 22. *Caſe* on *Ezra* 10. 2, 3 Pa. 33.

Prelacy and Prelaticall Clergy; *Prieſts and Jeſuits*; *Ceremonys and Service-Book*; *Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion-Court, were mighty Impediments in the way of Reformation.* *Caſe* on *Iſa.* 43. 4. pa. 19.

The Scots *were neceſſitated to take up Arms for their juſt Defence againſt* Anti-Chriſt, *and the Popiſh Prieſts.* *Ward* on *Deut* 33. 16. pa. 18.

Now to the LITURGY. *The Service of the Church of* England *is now ſo dreſſed, that if a Pope ſhould come and ſee it, he would Claim it as his own.* And again, *what credit is this to our Church, to have ſuch a Form of Publique Worſhip, as Papiſts may without offence Joyn with us in?* This we have from the *Smectymnuans* themſelves,

E. Cal.

E. Cal. *and* Stephen Marshall *being part of the* Club. *Now* (says *Bishop* Hall) *If the Devil confess Christ to be the Son of God, shall I disclaim the Truth because it passeth through a damned mouth?* And what did they give us, in exchange for this *Form of Publique worship*, but a *Directory* without either the *Decalogue*, or a *Creed* in't?

Disp. against English Popish Ceremonies, pa. 11. *Let not the pretence of Peace and Unity cool your Fervour, or make you spare to oppose your selves unto those Idle and Idolized Ceremonies, against which we dispute.*

Smectymnuus, pa. 58. Their next fling is at the HIERARCHY it self. *The Plastring, or palliating of these Rotten Members,* [Bishops] *will be a greater dishonour to the Nation, and Church, then their cutting off; and the Personall Acts of these Sons of* Belial *being connived at, become National sins.*

Marshall before the Commons, *Jun.* 25. 43 pag 25. *The* Roman Emperors *wasted the Saints in Ten several Persecutions, but all these were nothing in Comparison of this destroyer. All their Loyns are not so heavy as the little finger of* Antichrist.

Case of the Covenant, 1643. pa. 47. *The Prelacy of* England *which we swore to extirpate, was that very same Fabrick and mode of Ecclesiasticall Regiment, that is in the* Antichristian *World.* And again; *As thy Sword* Prelacy *hath made many Women Childlesse, many a faithfull Minister Peopleless, so thy Mother* Papacy, *shall be made Childlesse among Harlots: your* Dioceses, *Bishopless, and your* Sees *Lordless.* Pag. 51.

Marshalls Panegyrique 1643. pa. 21. *Carry on the work still; leave not a Ragg that belongs to Popery: Lay not a bit of the Lords building, with any thing that belongs to* Anti-Christ, *but away with it Root and Branch, Head and Tail, till you can say, now is Christ set upon his Throne.*

Woodcock on Gen. 4. 23. pa. 12. *Were they not* English Prelates *that conspired to sell their Brethren into* Romish *slavery?*

Faircloth, on Josh. 7. 25. pa. 28. *'Tis not partial Reformation, and Execution of Justice upon some Offenders will afford us help, except those in Authority extirpate all* Achans *with* Babylonish *Garments, and Orders, Ceremonies, Gestures, be rooted out from amongst us. Trouble they will bring upon us for the time to come, if they be not now cut off,* Pag. 36.

Case on *Isaiah* 43. 4 pa. 18. As to the KING and his PARTY, *what a sad thing is it, my Brethren, to see our* King *in the head of an Army of* Babylonians, *refusing as it were to be called the King of* England, Scotland, Ireland, *and chusing rather to be called the King of* Babylon.

Calamy's Sermon, *Dec.* 25. 44 pa. 18. *Those that made their Peace with the King at* Oxford, *were Judases of* England; *and it were just with God to give them their Portion with* Judas.

Here

Here follows, next their Opinion of the COVENANT. *The Walls of* Jericho *have fall'n flat before it; the* Dagon *of the* Bishops Service-Book *brake its neck before this* Ark *of the* Covenant, Prelacy, *and* Prerogative *have bow'd down, and given up the Ghost at its feet.* Case on the Covenant, 1643 p. 65.

Take the Covenant, *and you take* Babilon: *the Towers of* Babilon, *and her* Seaven Hills *shall move.*——*It is the* Shiboleth *to distinguish* Ephraimites *from* Gileadites. Pag. 27. *Not only is that* Covenant *which God hath made with* Us, *founded upon the Blood of* Christ, *but that also which we make with* God, Pag. 33. Caryl's Sermon at the taking the Covenant, Oct. 6 43.

See now the TENDERNESS of these men of *tender Consciences. Whensoever you shall behold the hand of God in the fall of* Babilon; *say, True here is a* Babilonish Priest *crying out alas! alas! my Living; I have Wife and Children to maintain. Ay, but all this is to perform the Judgement of the Lord.* Pag. 13. *Though as Little ones they call for pity, yet as* Babilonish *they call for* Justice, *even to* Blood. *pag.* 11. Bridges on Revelations 48.

We are now entring upon the State of the WAR; *wherein* you will finde in the first place who sounded the Trumpet to it. *To you of the Honourable House, Up, for the Matter belongs to you: We even all the* GODLY MINISTERS *of the Country will be with you.* Faircloth on Josh. 7. 25. Pag. 25.

The First Enginiers that batter'd this great Wall *of* Babilon, *who were they, but the poorer, and meaner sort of People, that at the First joyn'd with the* Ministers *to raise the Building of* Reformation. Marshalls Sermon June, 15 43. Pag. 15

Here is an Extraordinary appearance of so many Ministers *to encourage you in this Cause, that you may see how real the Godly Ministry in* England *is unto this Cause.*) This was upon calling in the Scots.) And again, *If I had as many Lives as I have hairs on my head, I would be willing to Sacrifice all those Lives for this Cause.* Ibid. ——*You shall read* Numb. 10. *that there were two Silver* Trumpets; *and as there were Priests appointed for the Convocation of their* Assemblies, *so there were Priests to sound the Silver Trumpets to proclaim the* War, *And* Deut. 20. *When the Children of* Israel *would go out to* War, *the Sons of* Levi, *one of the* Priests, *was to make a Speech to encourage them.* Cal's Speech at Guild-Hall, Oct. 6. 43.

Nor were they less cruel and fierce in the *Prosecution* of the War, Herle Jan. 15. on Psal. 95 3.

War; then they were forward in *Promoting* it. *In vain ſhall you in your Faſts with* Joſhua, *lie on your faces, unleſs you lay your* Achans *on their Backs: In vain are the* High Praiſes *of* God *in your* Mouths, *without a* Two edged Sword *in your* hand, *Pag.* 31.

Herle on *Gen.* 22. 5. pa. 23. *The Blood that* Ahab *ſpar'd in* Benhadad, *ſtuck as deep and as heavily on him, as that which he ſpilt in* Naboth.

Faircloth on *Joſh* 7. 25. *The Lord is purſuing you, if you execute not Vengeance on them betimes,* Pag. 48.——*Why ſhould life be farther granted to them, whoſe very life brings death to all about them?* pag. 50.

Caſe on *Dan.* 11. 32, 44. *Curſed be he that with-holdeth his Sword from blood; that ſpares when God ſaith ſtrike,* &c. pag.

And let it not be now pretended that this War was not Levy'd againſt the King; for they both diſclaim his Authority and even the oppoſing of him on expreſſe terms. *It is lawfull* (ſays Dr. *Downing* of *Hackney*, in a Sermon to the Artillery Men) *for defence of Religion, and Reformation of the Church, to take up Arms* AGAINST the King. *It is commendable* (ſays Calamy) *to fight for peace, and Reformation AGAINST the Kings Command.* And *Caſe* again. *Why come not in the* Scotiſh *Army AGAINST the King?*

Cal's Theſes pa. 29. *Caſe* on the Covenant, 43. *Herle* before the Commons 44.

If the Devil can but once get a Prophet to leave Gods ſervice for the Kings, he hath taken a Blew already, and is ready for as deep a Black as Hell can give him. pa. 28.

But what do they ſay all this time to his AUTHORITY?

Cal's Theſes in a Sermon Dec. 25 44. *The Parliament, whom the People chuſe, are the Great and only Conſervators of the peoples Liberties.* pag. 2. *They are the chief Magiſtrates,* pag. 38. *All thoſe that fought under the Kings Banner againſt this Parliament, fought themſelves into ſlavery; and did endeavour by all bloudy and Treacherous ways to ſubvert Religion and Liberties,* pag. 9. *The Lords and Commons are as Maſters of the Houſe.* pag. 22.

Jenkin's Petition. *The Parliament of the Common-wealth of* England *without the King* 1651, *were the Supreme Authority of this Nation.*

Herles Sermon before the Commons, 1644. *The Houſes are not only requiſite to the Acting of this Power of making Laws, but* Coordinate *with his Majeſty in the very Power of* Acting. pag, 42.

Baxters Holy Common-wea'th. *The Reall Sovereignty here in* England *was* (ſays *Baxter*) *in* King, Lords *and* Commons, pag. 72. *And thoſe that conclude that the Parliament being Subjects, may not take up Arms AGAINST the King,*

and

and that it is Rebellion to reſiſt him, their grounds are ſandy, and their Superſtructure falſe, pag. 459. 460.

The next Point is their Animating the MURTHER of the KING. *Do Juſtice to the Greateſt*; Sauls *Sons are not ſpar'd*; *no nor may* Agag, *or* Benhadad, *tho' themſelves* Kings. Zimri, and Cozbi (*tho Princes of the people*) *muſt be purſu'd into their Tents: This is the way to Conſecrate your ſelves to God.* pag. 16. *Hedle* before the Commons Nov. 5. 44.

The Execution of Judgment is the Lords word; and they ſhall be curſed that do it negligently. And curſed ſhall they be that keep back their Sword in this Cauſe. You know the ſtory of Gods Meſſage unto Ahab, *for letting* Benhadad *go upon Compoſition,* pag. 26. *Strick'and's* Thank giving Sermon, *Nov.* 5 44.

But you ſhall now hear the MURTHER of his Sacred Majeſty preſs'd more particularly in theſe Words. *Think not to ſave your ſelves by an unrighteous ſaving of them, who are the Lords, and the Peoples known Enemies, you may not imagine to obtain the favour of thoſe againſt whom you will not do Juſtice: For certainly, if you act not like Gods in this particular, againſt men truly obnoxious to Juſtice; they will be like Devils againſt you. Obſerve that place,* 1 Kings 22. 31. *compared with* Cap. 20. *It is ſaid in* Chap. 20. *that the King of* Syria *came againſt* Iſrael, *and by the mighty power of God, he and his Army were overthrown, and the King was taken Priſoner. Now the mind of God was (which he then diſcover'd only by that preſent Providence) that Juſtice ſhould have been executed upon him, but it was not. Whereupon the Prophet comes with aſhes upon his face, and waited for the King of* Iſrael, *in the way where he ſhould return; and as the King paſſed by, he cry'd unto him, thus ſaith the Lord, becauſe thou haſt let go a man whom I appointed for Deſtruction, therefore thy Life ſhall go for his Life. Now ſee how the King of* Syria, *after this, anſwers* Ahab's *love: about three years after,* Iſrael *and* Syria *engaged in a new War, and the King of* Syria *gives command unto his Souldiers, that they ſhould fight neither againſt ſmall nor great, but againſt the King of* Iſrael. Benhadads *Life was once in* Ahabs *hand, and he ventur'd Gods diſpleaſure, to let him go. But ſee how* Benhadad *rewards him for it? Fight neither againſt Small nor Great, but againſt the King of* Iſrael, *Honourable, and Worthy. If God do not lead you to do Juſtice upon thoſe that have been great Actors in ſhedding Innocent Blood, never think to gain their Love by ſparing of them; for they will, if Opportunity be ever offer'd, return again upon you. And then they will not fight againſt the poor, and mean ones, but againſt thoſe that have been the Fountain of that* Cockayns Sermon before the Commons Nov. 29 48.

The Kings Murther Encouraged.

Brooks's Sermon before the Commons Dec. 26. 48.

Authority and Power which have been improved against them.

Have you not sins enow of your Own, (says another) *but will ye wrap your selves up in the Treachery, Murther, Blood, Cruelty, and Tyranny of others?* p. 17. *Set some of those Grand Malefactors a mourning (that have caused the Kingdom to mourn so many years in Garments roll'd in blood) by the Execution of Justice,* &c. P. 19.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere Malorum. And we are not yet at the Top on't neither; For to look back upon that hideous Impiety, not only without remorse, but with satisfaction, is a piece of hardness, and Inhumanity, till this Age, and this Case, perhaps unheard of.

Jenkins's Sermon before the Commons Sep. 25. 56. pa. 23.

Worthy Patriots, (says another of the same Order) *you that are our Rulers in this Parliament, 'tis often said, we live in times wherein we may be as good as we please; wherein we enjoy in Purity and plenty the Ordinances of* Jesus Christ, *praised be God for this; Even that God who hath deliver'd us from the Imposition of* Prelatical Innovations, Altar-Genuflexious, *and* Cringings, *with* Crossings, *and all that Popish trash and Trumpery. And truly I speak no more then I have often thought, and said, The Removal of these Insupportable Burthens, Countervails for the Blood and Treasure shed and spent in these late Distractions: Nor did I as yet ever hear of any Godly men, that desired, were it possible, to purchase their Friends, or Mony again, at so dear a rate, as with the return of these, to have those* soul-burthening, Anti-christian Yoaks *re-imposed upon them. And if any such there be, I am sure that desire is no part of their Godliness;* and I PROFESS MY SELF, IN THAT TO BE NONE OF THE NUMBER.

The Kings Murther Justified.

Baxter's Holy Commonwealth, 486.

And M. *Baxter* likewise in effect says as much, *viz. That having often searched into his heart, whether he did lawfully engage in the War, or not, and whether he did lawfully encourage so many thousands to it, he tells us, that the Issue of all his search was but this, that he cannot yet see that he was mistaken in the main Cause, nor dares he repent of it, nor forbear doing the same, if it were to do again, in the same State of things.*

Mr. Baxters Cases of Conscience Thes. 137. 181.

We might carry the aggravation yet a step farther, in a Remarque or two upon his *Political Theses*, where he took as much pains in 1659. to keep out his present Majesty, as he did in the late War to drive out his Royal Father; casuistically resolving upon the point then in Hope and Prospect; that in that state of things, *the King himself could not justifie the resuming of his Government, nor his People the submitting to it.* But this is enough to

recommend

recommend the ſame perſons over again, to the care of another Reformation, that were ſo dutifull in the former; and the Government needs not doubt but they will be juſt as kind to his Majeſty as they were to his Father. Good God! that any thing in Humane ſhape, that Glories in the Murther of his Sovereign, ſhould make a face at a Ceremony!

Here's no amplyfying of the Matter, no forcing of conſtructions, Packing of Preſidents, or ſuborning of Proofs; But the Doctors of the *Schiſm, Cited, Produc'd*, and *Judg'd out of their own mouths*: and in ſo clear a manner too, as to leave no place for a doubt, either of the Fact, or of the Deſigne. We could give you an account of the many good Offices they did in the various Revolutions of the War, and upon the Finching Exigences of the State: As the promoting of *Petitions, Tumults, Proteſtations, Oaths* and *Covenants*, of all ſizes and colours: the Conſecrating of the Rebellion by Authorities of *Scripture*; Dividing *Wives* from their *Husbands*, *Sons* from their *Fathers*, Preaching away the *Apprentices* from their *Maſters*, and ſetting *Jeſus Chriſt* in the Head of the *Sedition*: The artifices of their *Faſts* and *Thanksgivings*; their Cajoling the City out of their *Bags*, and the ſimple multitude out of their *Lives* and *Duties*, the Influence they had upon bringing in the *Scots*, their faculty both of Creating *Fears* and *Jealouſies*, and of Emproving them; their miraculous *Diſcoveries of Plots of their own making*: Their *Sermons* were a kinde of *Domeſtique Intelligence*, and people went to Church as to a Coffee-houſe, to hear News and Fables. We could ſhew you likewiſe how they ſhifted their *Principles* with their *Intereſts*, and from 1640. to 1660. how theſe Mercenaries of the Pulpit complied with every turn of State: But we have rak'd far enough already in this puddle, and it is high time to proceed.

Ex ore tuo

The Schiſmaticks did the Faction many good Offices.

If a man might with a fair *Decorum* call ſo direfull a *Tragedy* a *Puppet-play*, we ſhould tell you that you have hitherto ſeen only the *Puppets* of this *Pretended Reformation*; and that they ſignified nothing of themſelves, but as they were guided by the Maſters of the *Machine*, from under the Stage, or behinde the Hanging. Now we cannot better lay open this Practice and Confederacy, then by ſetting forth the admirable Harmony and Concert that appear'd betwixt the *Lay-Caball*, and the *Eccleſiaſtick*; agreeing in the ſame method, in the ſame ſteps, in the ſame cauſe, and in the ſame Opinion: Only that which was

The Pulpits only ſpake as the Caballiſts dictated.

matter

Their agreement in Method and designe.

matter of *Policy* in *Private*, was made matter of *Conſcience* and *Religion* in *Publick*, Firſt, they finde out Corruptions in the Government; as matter of *Grievance*, which they expoſe to the People. Secondly, they Petition for Redreſs of thoſe Grievances, ſtill asking more and more, till ſomething is deny'd them. And then Thirdly, they take the Power into their own hands of Relieving themſelves, but with *Oaths* and *Proteſtations*, that they Act only as *Truſtees* for the *Common Good* of *King* and *Kingdom*. From the pretence of *Defending* the Government they proceed to the *Reforming* of it; which *Reformation* proves in the end to be a *Final Diſſolution* of the Order both of *Church* and *State*. This we ſhall deduce as briefly as we may.

A deduction of our Late Troubles.

After the Fatall Pacification at *Berwick*; *June* 17. 1639. (upon the *Scotts* Inſurrection, who kept not any one Article that was there agreed upon) the King called a Parliament, that met *Apr.* 13. 1640. which at firſt was thought to be well enough diſpoſed, till Sir *Hen. Vane* (then Secretary of State) demanded *Twelve Subſidies*, in ſtead of *Six*, which put the Commons into ſuch a flame, that upon *May* 4. his Majeſty, by the Advice of his Council, thought fit to Diſſolve them. In *Auguſt* following, the *Scotch Confederates* (holding very good ntelligence with the *Engliſh*, entred *England* with an *Army*, which the King oppos'd with what force he was at that time able to Raiſe, upon his own Credit. His Majeſty, upon this pinch, ſummons his *Great Council of Peers* to aſſemble at *York*, *Sep.* 24. where they met accordingly, and adviſed the King to a Treaty, which was held at *Rippon*, and a Peace was there Concluded and Signed *Oct.* 26. His Majeſty being ply'd in the *Interim*, with Petitions to call a Parliament, and his work cut out ready to his hand, in the matter of *Property* and *Religion*. Thoſe *Petitions* might have been ſpar'd, the King having beforehand reſolved to call a Parliament, to meet on the 3d of *November* next. They were no ſooner met, but they fell upon *Grievances* and *Impeachments*, beginning with the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſo proceeding, till all his *Majeſties Friends* were made *Traytors*, and the *Law it ſelf* was found to be the *Greateſt Grievance*.

Exact Collection pag. 4.

There is a Malignant and Pernitious Deſign (*ſays the* Remonſtrance *of* Dec. 15.41.) *of ſubverting the* Fundamental Laws, *and Principles of* Government, *upon which the* Religion *and* Juſtice *of this Kingdom is firmly eſtabliſh'd. And there are certain* Counſellors *and* Courtiers, *who for private Ends have engaged themſelves to further*

ther the Intereſt of ſome Forreign Princes *and* States, *to the Prejudice of his* Majeſty, *and the State* at Home. Take notice now, *that the King had already* (by their own confeſſion) *paſs'd more Good Bills to the advantage of the Subjects, then had been in many ages.* Coat *and* Conduct-money *were all damn'd*; *The Earl of* Strafford *beheaded. The Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Judge* Bartlet, *and ſeveral other* Biſhops *and* Judges Impeach'd; *two Bills paſs'd, the* One *for a* Triennial, *the* Other *for* Continuance of the Preſent Parliament; *the* Star-Chamber, High-Commiſſion, Courts *of the* Preſident, *and* Council *in the* North *taken away, the* Council-Table *Regulated, the Power of* Biſhops *and their* Courts *abated*; Innovators *and* Scandalous Miniſters *terrify'd by accuſations*; *the* Forreſts *and* Stannary-Courts *brought within compaſs*; and yet after all this, *other things* pa. 15. *of main Importance for the Good of this Kingdom are in Propoſition.* But their Intention *pag.* 19. is only *to reduce within Bounds that exorbitant Power which the Prelates have aſſumed; to unburden mens Conſciences of needleſs and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies; Suppreſs Innovations, and take away the Monuments of Idolatry: To ſupport his Majeſties Royall Eſtate with Honour and Plenty at home, with Power and Reputation abroad; and by their Loyall Affection, Obedience and Service, to lay a ſure and laſting Foundation of the Greatneſs and Proſperity of his Majeſty and his Royall Poſterity after him.* pa. 2. *Declaring and Proteſting further to this Kingdom and Nation, and to the whole world,* pag. 163. *in the preſence of Almighty God, for the ſatisfaction of their Conſciences, and the diſcharge of that Great Truſt which lies upon them, that no* Private Paſſion *or* Reſpect, *no* evill Intention *to his* Majeſties Perſon, *no deſigne to the prejudice of his* JUST Honour *and* Authority *engaged them to raiſe Forces, and take up Arms againſt the Authours of that War, wherein the Kingdom was then Inflam'd.* Pag. 16.

Let us ſee now how well they acquitted themſelves as to this Profeſſion; They put the Kingdom into a Poſture of Defence *by the Authority of Both Houſes* Pag. 96. *They require an Obedience to it,* Pag. 112. *They Vote it a Breach of priviledge, not to ſubmit to any thing, as Legal which they declare to be Law.* Pag. 114. *And declare* Pag. 150. *that upon* Certain Appearance, *or* Grounded Suſpition; *the* Letter *of the Law ſhall be improved againſt the* Equity *of it*; *and that the* Commander *going againſt its* Equity, *diſcharges the* Commanded *from* Obedience *to the* Letter: *to ſhorten the buſineſs, they make it Treaſon, upon any pretence whatſoever,* Pag. 576. *to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the War, with Horſe, Arms, Plate, or Monies;* Exact Collections.

nies; and his Majesty Sums up the Malice of that Declaration in these *Six Positions.*

Six Treasonous and Seditious Positions. Pag 297.298.

First, *That they have an Absolute Power of Declaring the Law; and that whatsoever they declare to be so, ought not to be questioned either by King or people: So that all the Right, and safety of the Prince and Subject, depends upon their pleasure.*

Secondly, *That no Presidents can be Limits to bound their Proceedings*; which if so, the Government of the *Turk* himself is not so Arbitrary.

Thirdly, *That a Parliament may dispose of any thing wherein the King or Subject hath a Right for the Publick Good*: (speaking all this while of the remnant of the two Houses.) *That they without the King are this Parliament, and Judge of this Publick Good; and that the Kings Consent is not necessary. So that the Life and Liberty of the Subject, and all the Good Laws made for their security may be dispos'd of and Repeal'd by the Major Part of both Houses, at any time, present, and by any ways and means procured so to be, and his Majesty has no Power to Protect them.*

Fourthly, *That a Member of either House ought not to be troubled or medled with, for Treason, Felony, or any other crime, without the Cause first brought before them, that they may Judge of the Fact, and their leave obtained to proceed.*

Fifthly, *That the Soveraign Power resides in Both Houses of Parliament; the King has no negative Voice, and becomes Subject to their Commands.*

Lastly, *That the Levying of Forces against the Personal Commands of the King (though accompany'd with his presence) is not Levying War against the King: But to Levy War against his Laws and Authority (which they have power to declare and signify) is Levying War against the King; and that Treason cannot be committed against his Person, otherwise then as he is intrusted with the Kingdom, and discharging that Trust; and that they have a power to judge whether he dischargeth it or no.* And all this still, for the maintainance of the true *Protestant Religion*, the *Kings JUST Prerogatives*, the *Laws* and *Liberties* of the Land, and the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, *Pag.* 281. *Nay they will not allow the King* any great Officer or Publick Minister; the Power of Treating upon War or Peace, or any matter *of State, conferring Honours; no not so much as the Power of appointing any Officer Civil or Military, without leave of the two Houses.* The Scale of their wickedness, in One Word,

(wherein

(wherein their hireling-Pulpitiers fall in as pat with them as two Tallies) was this. *First*, they fell upon the Kings *Reputation*; they Invaded his *Authority* in the next place; after That, they aſſaulted his *Perſon*, ſeiz'd his *Revenue*; and in the Concluſion, moſt Impiouſly took away his *Sacred Life*: At which rate, in proportion, they treated the Church, and the reſt of his Friends, and laid the Government in Confuſion.

Baits for all Parties.

For the compaſſing of theſe accurſed ends, they ſtil accommodated themſelves to the matter they had to work upon. They had their *Plots*, and *falſe allarms* for the *ſimple*, their *Tumults* for the *fearful*, their *Covenants*, *Aſſociations* for the *Factious*, and *in fine*, the Party, was a Receptacle for all ſorts of *Libertines*, and *Male-contents*. But the great difficulty was the gaining of the City: which could not be effected, but by embroyling the Legal, and ancient Conſtitution of that Government. For there was no good to be done upon the *Imperial Monarchy* of *England*, without Firſt confounding the *Subordinate Monarchy* of the City of *London*, and creating a perfect Underſtanding betwixt the *Caball*, and the *Common-Council*: which was very much facilitated, by caſting out the Loyal, and Orthodox Clergy, and teaching all the Pulpits in *London* to ſpeak the ſame Language with *Margarets Weſtminſter*. But let us conſider the Government of the City of *London*, Firſt, in the due, and Regular Adminiſtration of it; and then in its corruptions, and by what means it came afterwards to be debauch'd.

The Legal Government of the City of *London*.

The City of *London*, was long before the Conqueſt, Govern'd by *Port-Reeves*: and ſo down to *Richard* the *Firſt*, who granted them ſeveral Priviledges in acknowledgment of the Good Offices they had render'd him. But the *Firſt Charter* they had for the Choice of their Own *Mayor*, or *Governour*, was confer'd upon them by *King John*, in theſe words. *Know ye that we have granted to our Barons* (or *Freemen*) *of our City of* London, *that they may chuſe unto themſelves a* Mayor *of themſelves*. And their following Charter of *Henry* the *Third* runs thus. *We grant alſo unto the ſaid Citizens, that they may yearly preſent to our Barons of the Exchequer* (*we or our Heirs not being at* Weſtminſter) *every Mayor which they ſhall firſt chuſe in the City of* London, *to the end they may be by them admitted as Mayor*. In a following Charter of *Ed.* 2. *That the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City aforeſaid, may be choſen by the Citizens of the ſaid City*; *according to the Tenour of the Charter of our Progenitors*, (*ſometimes Kings of* England) *to that end made*; *and not otherwiſe*. The Charter of *Hen.* 8. runs to the

Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of *London*, *Conjunctim*. The Charter of *Ed.* 3. is thus. *We have granted further for Us and our Heirs, and by this our present Charter confirm'd to the Mayor, and Aldermen of the City aforesaid; that if any customs in the said City hitherto obtained and used, be in any part Difficult or Defective, or any thing in the same newly happening, where before there was no remedy Ordained, and have need of amending, the said* Mayor *and* Aldermen, *and their Successours with the assent of the* Commonalty *of the same City, may add and ordain a remedy, meet, faithfull, and consonant to reason, for the Common profit of the Citizens of the same City, as oft, and at such time as to them shall be thought expedient.*

The Charter of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

We have the rather cited these clauses in favour of the Lawfull Government of the City; in regard that they have been so often, and so earnestly perverted another way. The *Charter* we see, is directed to the *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen* of the City; the Power is granted to them, to propose the making or mending of Laws, as they see occasion; only by the assent, or dissent of the Commons, they are ratifyed or hindred. And those Laws are only Acts of Common-Council, that is to say, not of the Commonalty alone, but of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in concurrence. Some there are that mistake the word *Conjunctim*, and would have *Jointly*, to be *Equally*: as if one could not have a *greater* Interest or Authority, and *another a lesse*, though in a *Joynt Commission*. The Power, in short, of summoning, and Dissolving Common-Councils, and of putting any thing to the question, does legally reside only in the Lord Mayor. And the *Active Power* in the *Making* of a Law, and the *Negative* Voice in the *Hindering* of a Law, have been by long Prescription and usage, in the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. And these being *customs of the City*, every *Freeman* is to support and maintain them by the Obligation of his Oath. And in farther proof that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen are by their Charter invested with the Powers aforesaid; We shall need only to inform our selves who they are that in case of any publick Disorder, are made answerable for the Misdemeanour. *Richard* the *Second* granted a Commission *to enquire of all and singular Errours, Defects, and Misprisions in the City of* London, *for want of Good Government in the* Mayor, Sheriffs, *and* Aldermen *of the said City.* And for the *Errours, Defects*, and *Misprisions*, in their Government found, they were fin'd 3000. *Marks*: the *Liberties*

berties of the *City ſeiz'd* into the Kings Lands, and a *Warden* appointed to govern the City: till in the end, the Duke of *Gloceſter* prevail'd upon the King to reinſtate them.

We have here given you a ſhort view of the Orderly Government of this glorious City; which is perchance one of the beſt qualify'd Eſtabliſhments both for King and People, under the cope of Heaven. We are now coming to lay open by what Arts and Contrivances it came to be corrupted; and in a manner, to lay Violent hands upon it ſelf: Which is a ſtory that may ſerve ſome for curioſity, and others for Edification.

In what manner the people were wrought upon.

The People being extreamly diſcompoſed in their minds upon the Apprehenſion of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and ſhaken alſo in their *Allegiance*, upon a ſtrong Impreſſion that it was a deſign in their Governours themſelves to introduce it. It was no hard matter to inveigle them into *Petitions* for Relief, *Proteſtations*, *Aſſociations* and *Covenants*, for the Common defence of themſelves, in the preſervation of their *Liberties* and *Religion*; and into a favourable Entertainment of any plauſible pretext even for the Juſtification of Violence it ſelf: Eſpecially the *Sedition* coming once to be Baptized *Gods cauſe*, and ſupported by the Doctrine of *Neceſſity* and the unſearchable *Inſtinct* and *Equity of the Law of Nature*: And all this too, Recommended and Inculcated to them by the men of the whole World, upon whoſe Conduct and Integrity, they would venture their very Souls, Bodies and Eſtates. Being thus perſwaded, and poſſeſs'd; the coming in of the *Scots* ſerv'd them both for a Confirmation of the ground of their fears, and for an Authority to follow that Pattern in their Proceedings; both cauſes being founded upon the ſame Bottom, and both Parties united in the ſame Conſpiracy. So that this opportunity was likewiſe improved by all ſorts of ayry Phantaſtical Plots, frivolous and childiſh reports, to cheriſh the Deluſion: And now was the time for *Tumults* and *Out-rages* upon publique Miniſters, and *Biſhops*, nay and upon the King himſelf; till by Arms and Injuries they forc'd him away from his Palace, when yet they had the confidence to charge his Sacred Majeſty with making War upon his Parliament. But this would not yet do their buſineſs, till they got Poſſeſſion of the *Militia*; which at length they did: the Preſſes and the Pulpits all this while giving life and credit to their Proceedings.

Upon the tuning of mens minds for *Innovations*, by making them sick of the present state of things; the People were easily prevail'd upon to *Petition* for what they so much wish'd for and desir'd: and this was the second step toward the *Tyranny*, and *Slavery* that ensu'd upon it. The *Rude people* (says his Late Majesty) in his Reflections upon (TUMULTS) *are taught first to Petition, then to Protect, then to Dictate, and at last to Command.* The Faction made use of Petitions as common House-breakers do of screws; they got in by little and little, and without much noise, and so Rifled the Government: Or they did rather like the counterfeit Glasiers, that took down the Glasse at Noonday under colour of mending the Windows, and then Robb'd the House.

The Artifice of Petitions.

EIK. B.

To make a right Judgment upon a Popular Petition we should first consider the matter of it. Secondly the wording of it. Thirdly, the manner of Promoting it. Fourthly, the Probable intent of it. And Lastly, we should do well to consult History and Experience to see what effects such Petitions have commonly produced.

As to the *Subject-Matter* of Popular Petitions, it is either for publique concernment or private; Generall or particular: That is to say concerning the whole Body of the People, or only some *part* of it. It is either within the Petitioners *Cognizance*, and *Understanding*, or it is not; It varies according to the Circumstances of *Times*, *Occasions*, and *Parties*: and it often falls out, especially where it treats of *Reformation*, that the one half of it is a *Petition*, and the other a *Libell*. The Case that is purely *Private*, or *Particular*, cannot properly be called *Popular*; and so not to our purpose. There are likewise *Mixt Cases* of *Publick*, and *Private*; as in the Calamities of *War*, *Pestilence*, *Fires*, *Inundations* and the like; where *Numerous Subscriptions* are matter of *Attestation*, rather then *Clamour*; on the behalf of such and such *Known*, and *Particular Sufferers*. Now there is great heed to be given to the Petitions of men both that *Understand* what it is they ask, and whom the Law has made *Competent Judges* of it. But where the Question is, the Redresse of *Grievances* in matter of *State*, the *Complaining* part of the *Petition* makes it only *more Artificiall Scandall*: Besides the dangerous boldness of Intermeddling in points which they neither have any thing *to do withall*, nor one jot *Understand*. Such as the Petition

tition of the *Rabble*, in and about *London*, in 1640. againſt *Epiſcopacy*, *Root* and *Branch*; the *Porters Petition* in 1641. about the *Militia*, being told *that it was only a* Petition *to Prohibit* Watermen *from carrying of Burthens*, That of the *Stanford School-boys*, which their Maſters made them Subſcribe againſt *Biſhops*; Or the *Scottiſh Petition* in 1637. of *Men, Women, Children and Servants*, (in thoſe very terms) againſt the *Service-Book*. Theſe few inſtances may ſuffice to ſhow the folly (and worſe) of peoples ſtickling for they know not what.

Many Petitions for they know not what.

Next to the *Matter* of the Petition we ſhould conſider the *wording* of it: For *he that asks he knows not what, may ask any thing in the World, for ought he knows*. And it is not the humility of the Stile, that can juſtify the publiſhing of a Reproach upon the Prince: Did not *Joab* take *Amaſa by the* Beard *with the Right hand to* kiſs *him*, and yet at the ſame time *ſtrike him under the* Fifth Rib *that he dy'd? It is no Breach of Charity, when a Multitude are drawn into a* Petition *blindly to ſollicite the Intereſts of Other men, to take all ambiguities and Equivocalls in the worſt ſenſe.*

The manner of Promoting Petitions.

And then the Manner of promoting theſe Petitions goes a great way. It was a common practice in the Late Times, for the conſiding Members of ſeveral Countries to draw up Petitions to themſelves, and Lodge them in the hands of ſeverall of their Factious Country-men here in the City, to gather Subſcriptions, Where, and how they pleas'd, in the *Name* of their *reſpective Counties. Their Seditious Preachers* (ſays the Late King) *and Agents are by them, and their ſpeciall and particular Directions ſent into the ſeveral Counties to infuſe Fears and Jealouſies into the minds of our Good Subjects*, with *Petitions ready drawn by* Them, *for the* People *to* Sign, *which were yet many times by them changed three or four times before the delivery; upon accidents, or occurrences of either, or both Houſes. And when many of our poor deceived People of our ſeverall Counties have come to the City of* London, *with a Petition ſo* framed, altered, *and* Signed, *as aforeſaid; that* Petition *hath been* Suppreſs'd, *and a* New one *ready drawn hath been put into their hands, after their coming to Town (inſomuch as few of the Company have known what they Petition'd for) and hath been by them preſented to One or Both our Houſes of Parliament, as that of* Bedfordſh., *and* Buckinghamſh.; *Witneſſe thoſe Petitions; and amongſt the reſt that of* Harfordſhire; *which took notice of matters agreed on or diſſented from, the night before the delivery. Which was hardly time enough to get ſo many thouſand hands, and to travel to* London

Ex. *Coll.* 536. Fobb'd Petitions impos'd upon the Nation by the Faction.

London *on that Errand*. These were not the *Petitions* of the *Subscribers*, but of *those that set them on*; who did in effect, but *Petition* the *People* to *Petition them* again; and that which was *taken* and *imposed* as the sense of the *Nation*, was only the *Project* and *Dictate* of the *Caball*. Only with the *Porters*, they thought they had sign'd a Petition against the *Watermen*, and it prov'd to be against the *Government* (so innocent were the greater part of the Petitioners.)

The intent of Popular Petitions is to be consider'd.

Now as to the *Intent* of those Petitions, since we cannot enter into the hearts of men, we are allow'd to judge of the *Tree* by the *Fruit*. And we must distinguish too betwixt the *Intention* of the *Dictatours*, and that of the *Subscribers*: the *Former Contriving* with an *Ill Intention* that which the *Latter Executed* with a *Good One*. Let the *Matter* of the Petition be never so fair, yet (as was said before) if it be a business out of the *Petitioners sphere*, and *capacity*, either to *meddle in*, or to *understand*; it is a *suspitious* way of Proceeding. Such were the *Confederate Petitions* of *England* and *Scotland* for a Parliament in 1641. which were but a *Prologue* to the Opening of the *Subsequent Confederacy* against the *Government*: When the Petitions that *follow'd*, sufficiently expounded the meaning of the *Former*. They *Petition'd* against *Ecclesiastical Courts*, *Ceremonies*, *Scandalous Ministers*, *Bishops Votes* in Parliament, and *Episcopacy it self*, against *evil Councellors*, *Monopolies*, *Corruptions of State*, Courts of *Oppression* and *Innumerable Grievances*; Were they not gratify'd in all this? and did not those very *Concessions* make them still *Bolder* and *Bolder*? More and more *Greedy* still, and more *Insatiable*? They must have the *Militia* too, the Command of the *Kings Towns*, and *Forts*, and put the Kingdom into a posture of defence themselves. They cry for *Justice upon Delinquents*; the very Rabble *demanding the Names of those in the House of Peers that would not consent to the* Proposition *made by the House of Commons concerning the* Forts, Castles, *and the* Militia, (*when it was rejected by a* Major Part *twice.*) *And declaring them for Enemies to the Common-wealth*: Loyall *and* Legall Petitions *being still* rejected, *and the* seditious countenanc'd: In a Word; they grew higher and higher, till they brought the King to the Block; which was no more then a Natural Conclusion from such premises. And *the First* Petition (how plausible soever) *was the Foundation of all our Ruines*. These Petitions you must know, do not ask to *Obtain*, but to be *Deny'd*; and only seek an Occasion

Cnofederate Petitions are but the Prologue to confederate Practises.

Never satisfy'd.

Ex. Coll. p. 548.

to

to pick a quarrel; and if they cannot finde it, they'l make it. If this be not provided for, they tell us, *It is the Caſe of many a Thouſand in* England, *and great troubles will come of it*: The very *Stile* of them is *Menacing*; and certainly nothing can be more Evident then their evil *Intention*. There's Malice in the *Publication* of them too; beſide that by the *Number* of the *Subſcriptions*, they take an Eſtimat of the *ſtrength* of their Party; which is their ſafeſt way of *Muſter*.

The Laſt Section under the Head of *Popular Petitions* is the *Effect* of them: which in our Caſe was no leſs then the deſtruction of *Three Kingdoms*; and let the *Matter* be what it will, the *Method* is a moſt neceſſary Link in the chain of a Rebellion. And it is the ſecureſt experiment too, of attempting a Commotion, being the gentleſt of Political Inventions, for feeling the pulſe of the People. If it *takes*, the work is half done; and if *Not*, 'tis but ſo much Breath Loſt, and *the Deſign will keep Cold*. *But may not Men Petition* (you will ſay) *and Petition for a good thing*? Yes, if the thing be *Simply Good*, the *Petitioners*, *Competent Judges* of it, and every man keep himſelf to *his Own Poſt*, I ſee no hurt in't. But for the *Multitude* to interpoſe in Matters of *State*; as in the *Calling* or *Diſſolving* of Parliaments; *Regulation* of *Church Government*; or in other like Caſes, of *Doubtful* and *hazardous Event*, wherein they have no *Skill* at all, nor any *Right* of *Intermedling*; why may not 20000. *Plow-Jobbers* as well *Subſcribe* a Petition to the *Lord-Mayor* of *London* for the Calling of a *Common-Council*? Or as many *Porters* and *Carmen* here in *London* put in for the better government of the *Herring-Trade* in *Yarmouth*? every jot as reaſonable would *This* be as the *Other*. And that's not all neither, for the *Thing* they take to be a *Cordial*, proves many times to be a *Poyſon*: and after *Subſcription* they are yet to learn the very *meaning* of the *Petition*: And then the *Numerous Subſcriptions* prove it manifeſtly to be a *Combination*: For the *Number* of Hands adds nothing to the *Weight* of the *Petition*; and ſerves only for *Terrour* and *Clamour*. It is a kinde of an odd way of putting the Queſtion: as who ſhould ſay, *Sir, May we be ſo bold*? and the *ſufferance* or *Patience* of the *Prince* ſeems to anſwer them, Yes, you *may*: and ſo they go on.

The Effect of Popular Petitions.

Upon what Terms they may be allow'd.

Let every man keep to his own poſt.

The Tranſition is ſo natural, from a *Popular Petition* to a *Tumult*,

A Natural Transition from a *Popular Petition* to a Tumult. EIK. BA. upon Tumults. Ex. *Coll.* 532.

mult, that the *One* is but the *Hot Fit* of the other; and little more in effect then *a more earneſt way of Petitioning*. *By theſe* (ſays his Late Majeſty) *muſt the Houſe be purg'd, and all Rotten Members (as they pleaſe to call them) caſt out. By theſe the Obſtinacy of men reſolv'd to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdu'd; by Theſe, all Factious, ſeditious and ſchiſmatical Propoſals of Government Eccleſiaſtical or Civil muſt be back'd and abetted, till they prevail. God forbid* (ſays Mr. Pym) *that the Houſe of Commons ſhould proceed in any way to diſhearten people to obtain their juſt deſires in ſuch a way.* It would fill a Volume to tell the Inſolencies of the *Rabble* upon *Lambeth-Houſe* upon the *Perſons* of the *Archbiſhop of York and all the Loyall members of both Houſes*; their Outcries for *Juſtice* upon *Laud* and *Strafford*, under the Conduct of *Ven* and *Manwaring*: Their Exclamations, No Biſhops, No Popiſh Lords; Proclaiming ſeveral of the Peers by their Names to be *evil* and *rotton-hearted Lords*: Their beſetting of *Sheriff Garnets* Houſe, when the King Din'd there, crying out, Priviledges of Parliament; their affronting the *Lord Mayor* (Sir *Richard Gourny*) *and tearing his Chain from about his Neck*, and uſing Sir *Thomas Gardiner* (the Recorder) little better; following them with Reproaches, Remember the PROTESTATION. Nay, the King himſelf had his Coach ſtopt, and *Walkers* Seditious Libel, *To your Tents O Iſrael*, thrown into it in the ſtreet. This was upon the diſpute about the *Five Members*, when at their Return from *Weſtminſter* they made a ſtand at *White-hall-gate*, bauling out, *that they would have no more Porters Lodge, but ſpeak with the King when they pleas'd. About a hundred Lighters and Long-Boats were ſet out by water, laden with Sacres, Murthering-Pieces, and other Ammunition, dreſt up with Maſt-cloths and Streamers as ready for fight*; calling out as they paſt by *Whitehall Windows, what's become of the King? whither's he gone?* The Tower of *London* and *Hull* being both beſieged at the ſame time. Now what was the *End* of Theſe *Tumults*, but over and above the Guilt and Calamities of a *Civil War*, a Vengeance in the Concluſion upon the Heads of all the Firſt Abetters of them? Theſe very men that firſt by *Tumults* forc'd away the *King* from *Whitehall*, and their *Fellow-members* from attending their Duty at *Weſtminſter*, were *Themſelves* afterward *caſt out*, by *ſucceeding Tumults*, under the Character of *Perſons Diſaffected*, (the *Independents* at that time being too hard for the *Presbyterians*) and the City too was *whipt with its own rod*. No man is ſo blinde (ſays the Late King) *as*

The Inſolences of the Rabble upon the Parliament. Pag. 533.

Upon the City.

And upon the King himſelf. Pag. 538.

The firſt Tumults puniſhed by tumults.

not

not to see herein the Hand of Divine Justice; They that by Tumults, first occasioned the Raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Army for new Tumults. In fine, a *Tumult* is a *seditious action* in *Hot Blood*; and only accounted the less Criminal, for that there is not in it the *Malice Prepense* of a *Rebellion*. If it succeeds, the Principals of the Faction form it into a Conspiracy; but if it miscarries, it passes only as That did in *Scotland*, 1637. for an *Outrage* of the *Rabble*.

BIK. BA. Upon the Distraction of the Parliament Army, and City.

Where many People agree in the *Desiring* of the same thing, they seldom fail of *Engaging* afterwards towards the Procuring of it; and so the Project advances, from *Petition* to *Protestation*, or *Covenant*; the *One* Leading so naturally to the *Other*, that the *Late Popular Petition* was no sooner set on foot, but it was immediately followed upon the Heel with the Proposall of an *Association*, pretending the Practice of 27. *Eliz.* for their Warrant. It would be endless to run through all the *Leagues*, *Covenants*, *Bonds*, *Protestations*, *Engagements*, *Oaths*, &c. of the Late times; and as needless to set forth the Histories of the Miseries they brought upon us, after so many Narratives and Discourses already Published, upon that Subject: So that our Business shall be rather to *discover* the *Imposture* of those *Practises*, then to *dilate* upon the *Story*.

Of Oaths, Covenants, and Associations.

All *Popular Leagues, without* the Authority of the *Supream Magistrate* are to be lookt upon as *Conspiracies*; but when they come once to bear up in *Defiance* of it, the Case is little better then a State of *Actual Rebellion*. The Pretence of the Late *Engagements* was only to assert and Compass the *Ends* of the foregoing *Petitions*: And it was the Master-piece of the Faction to keep the Vulgar in the dark, by disguising the Drift, and the Scope, both of the One, and the Other. It was by this following train of thoughts that the Multitude in 1641. were Egg'd on into the foulest crimes, and the Heaviest calamities Imaginable. *The Lord bless us* (say they) *we are all running into the* French Government, *and* Popery: *the* Courtiers *and* Prelates *will be the Undoing of us all; the King is a good man enough of himself, if he had but Good people about him; but he's so damnably led away by Popish Councells; I would to God he would but call a Parliament and harken to their advice. But why should we not press him to't; and ferret out all these Caterpillers from about him? 'Tis true,* the *King* can do no wrong, *but his* Ministers *may*: *and yet the* King *is bound by*

The Leagues of Subjects among themselves are Conspiracies.

The delusions of 1641.

the Law, *as well as* We. *Had not we better get hands to a Petition, and joyn to ſtand by one another as One Man, for the preſervation of our* Liberties, *and* Religion, *then ſtand gaping with our fingers* in our Mouths till all is loſt? Little did theſe people Imagine all this while that Death was in the Pot, and that inſtead of the way to Peace and happineſs they were then in the High-Road to Deſtruction. And This they might eaſily enough have diſcover'd if they had but diligently conſider'd the *Opinions* and *Profeſſions* of the Heads of theſe *Covenanters* and *Subſcribers*; among which, there was not one man of a hundred that was not a *known* and *a vow'd* Enemy both to *Church* and *State*. But they plung'd themſelves like *Curtius*, into the Gulph, as Devotes for the miſtaken preſervation of their Countrey. But the deluſion will better appear, by applying only *Common Reaſon* to the *Impoſture* it ſelf: And firſt, let us conſider their *Proteſtation* of May, 1641.

The Proteſtation.

I A. B. *do in the preſence of Almighty God, promiſe, vow, and proteſt to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my Life,* Power, *and Eſtate, the True Reformed* Proteſtant Religion, *expreſt in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *againſt all* Popery *and* Popiſh *Innovations within this Realm, contrary to the ſame Doctrine, and according to the Duty of my* Allegiance *to his* Majeſties Royall Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate; *as alſo the* Power, *and* Priviledges *of* Parliament, *the* lawfull Rights *and* Liberties *of the* Subjects, &c. Now as the whole Pretext was plauſible, ſo the ſaving clauſe in it [*as far as lawfully I may*] made it go down without much ſcruple.

The Jugg'e of the Covenant.

The *Solemn League* and *Covenant* of 1643. (which was the *Bond* of the *Confederacy* of the Two Nations) had the ſame *ſalvo* in it too, and the very ſame ſpecious pretences for the *Proteſtant Religion*, the *Honour* of the King, the Priviledges of *Parliament*, and the *Liberty* of the Subject: only enlarged to the ſetting up of the *Scottiſh Diſcipline* and *Government*, the *Extirpation* of *Prelacy* and *Popery*; and the bringing of *Delinquents* to *puniſhment*: So that from the *maintaining* of the *Government*, they are now come to the *Diſſolving* of it; and from the *Defence* of their *own Rights* and *Liberties*, they are advanced to the *Invading* of *other peoples*. We might reflect upon a world of *Solœciſms*, *Illegalities*, *Contradictions* and *Defects*, both in the *Givers* and *Takers* of this *Proteſtation* and *Covenant*: As the *Nullity* of any *Engagement* entered into, *Contrary* to *Law*; the *altering* of the *Government*,

ment, without the consent of his *Majesty* in *Parliament*; The perjurious *Fraud* of *Swearing* in *One sense*, in opposition to the *Known Intent* of the *Imposer* in *another*; beside the *Inconsistence* of *these Vows* with Themselves, and the *Contradictions* they bear to *One another*. Wherefore we shall rather detect the *Cheat* in the Thing it self, and the wonderfull *Rashness* of the *Undertakers*, then play the *Casuist* upon the Question.

Take the *Protestation* as it runs with that Qualifying Clause in it [*as far as lawfully I may*] and there is hardly any thing more in it then what a man is oblig'd to do without it: So that without some Mystery in the bottom, the thing appears in it self to be wholly Idle and Impertinent, and not answerable to the solemnity of making it a National Duty. And then the *Imposition* was in it self an *Usurpation* of *Soveraign Power*. The *Covenant* (I must confess) was Ranker, having an Auxiliary Army of about 20000 *Scots* to second it. But was ever any thing in appearance more *harmless*, *Loyall* or *Conscientious*, then this *Protestation*? and if the fellow of it were now in agitation, how would the Town Ring, of any *Church of England-Man* for a disguised Papist, that should refuse to take it! And yet what ensu'd upon the peoples joyning in this officious piece of *miss-guided Zeal* and *Duty*? When they were once In, there was no longer any regard had to the *Grammer* or *Literal Construction* of it, but to the *List* of those that took it, as the Discriminating *Test* of the Party; They that contriv'd it, did likewise expound it: and every man was bound implicitly to believe that only to be *Lawfull*, which they told him *was* so, without being allowed the liberty of Judging of his own Actions. He that looks into the Records of that Revolution, will finde the *Contributions*, *Subscriptions*, *Loans*, *Levies*, and briefly the highest violences of the *War*, the boldest attempts upon the *Honour* and *Person* of the *King*, the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, and the *Property* of the *Subject*, to be charg'd at the foot of the account, upon the Tye of the *Solemn League* and *Protestation*; and every man bound, upon to the forfeiture of his Life, Liberty, and Estate, to observe it, in their sence. Over and above the *Iniquity* of these Oaths, how Ridiculous is it for every Paltery Fellow to swear to the doing of he knows not what, and the *maintaining* of the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, *which no man living understands*? We shall conclude this Point, with the words of the Late King [*Confederations by way of* Solemn Leagues *and* Covenants, *are the Common Road us'd in all*

The Protestation an Oath of Policy not Conscience.

EIKBA:

Faſtions and Towerſull Perturbations of State *or* Church.] And our *movenanters* did but write after the mopy of the *Holy League* of *France*.

Impoſtures upon the People.

The people being now prepar'd for any mutinous Impreſſions, poyſon'd in their affections to the Government, beſotted into the apprehenſion of Remote and Inviſible dangers, and United in the Reſolution of Defending their Rights againſt all Oppoſers; the Deſigne would have been there at a ſtand, for want of matter to work upon, if the maball had not fed, and entertain'd their *fears* and *Jealouſies*, with ſtories of *Plots* and Diſcoveries nearer hand, where ſtill the *Parliament* and the *mity* were in the greateſt hazzard. One while the *Northern Army* was coming up, and ſtrong *Guards* appointed upon all Paſſes within 20. miles of *London*, and then comes a Letter to the *mloſe mommittee*, of a *Conſpiracy* to ſeize the Earl of *Argile*, and ſome other Lords in *Edenburgh*: And upon This, an Order is preſently iſſu'd out to the Juſtices of *Middleſex*, *Surry*, and *Southwark*, to ſecure the *mity*, by *ſtrong Watches*; *becauſe* (ſays the Order) *the miſchievous Deſigns and monſpiracies lately diſcover'd in* Scotland *againſt ſome* Principall *and Great men there, by ſome of the* Popiſh *Faction, gives juſt occaſion to ſuſpect that they may maintain morreſpondency Here, and practice the like miſchief.* They had a Touch now and then at the mighty preparations of *France* and *Denmark*, for the invading of the Nation, and aſſiſting the King to govern by an *Arbitrary Power*. And then the Army *under ground* at *Ragland maſtle* was a terrible thing, and miraculouſly diſcovered by an *Inn-keepers Servant* at *Roſſe*, to *Alderman Aſtons moachman*. Theſe whimſies were but ſo many approaches toward the *Militia*; and they are ſo extravagant, that the man that was upon the place, and can witneſs the effect of them, has hardly the face yet to make the Report.

A falſe Alarm.

Upon *Twelth Night* 1641. the mity was allarm'd at Mid-night with a Report of 1500 *Horſe* that deſign'd to ſurprize the mity. Whereupon a matter of 50000 men were preſently in Arms, and the Women at work in the ſtreets, with *Joynt-ſtools*, *Empty-mask*, and other Lumber, to interrupt their paſſage.

The good women could not ſleep for fear of the Tower guns.

Upon the Kings making Sir *Tho. Lunsford Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, the good women of the mity could not ſleep for fear of the Guns. But yet without any Objection, his Majeſty preſently puts in Sir *John Byron*. They could make no exception againſt him, till at laſt (as my Authour has it) *Lieutenant Hooker*,

er, the *Aqua-Vita-man*, and *Nicholſon* the *Chandler*, enform the Common-Council, that ſince he came to be Lieutenant, there was nothing to do at the *Mint*, though it was made appear that the *Mint* had more buſineſs ſince this Gentleman was *Lieutenant*, then ever it had in ſo ſhort a time *before*: But their Trade being in the Retail of *Brooms*, *Candles*, and *Muſtard* their ignorance in the other point might be the better excus'd.

A Tumult for fear of a Peace.

In *Aug.* 1643. upon a Vote for ſending *Propoſitions of Peace* to the *King*, the very next day there were *Papers ſcatter'd, and poſted up and down the City*; *requiring all perſons well-affected to riſe as One man, and come to the Houſe of Commons next morning, for that* 20000 Iriſh Rebells *were landed.* And this was the News of the Pulpits next day; when, (though *Sunday*) a *Common-Council* was call'd late at Night, and a *Petition* there fram'd againſt Peace. This Petition was next morning recommended to the *Commons* by *Penington*, then Mayor, with a Rabble at his heels, declaring that *the Lords* Propoſitions *for* Peace *would be deſtructive to* Religion, Laws, *and* Liberties, *and that if they had not a good anſwer they would be there again the next day, with double the Number.*

Mr. *Pyms* Plague plaiſter.

We muſt not forget the deſign upon the Life of Mr. *Pim* by a *Plague Plaiſter*, that was wrapt up in a Letter and ſent him, which Letter he put in his pocket for Evidence, though he threw away the Plaiſter. And there was another diſcovery that came as wonderfully to light: a Taylor in a Ditch in *Finsbury-Fields* over-heard two men talking of a Plot upon the Life of my Lord *Say*, and ſome other Eminent Members of both Houſes; and ſo the Deſign never took effect.

A Taylor diſcovers a Plot againſt my Lord *Say.*

The people Impos'd upon by ridiculous Stories and Impoſtures.

At this rate were the people gull'd from day to day, with freſh and palpable *Impoſtures*; never was any Nation certainly under ſuch an *Obſeſſion* of *Credulity*, and *Blindneſs*; but as the Cauſe was *founded* in *Hypocriſy*, ſo it was by *Forgery* to be *ſupported.* And yet theſe *Legendary Tales* ſtood the Faction in very good ſtead; by authorizing the People now and then to betake themſelves to their *Arms*, and to put themſelves upon their *Guard*; which did, by degrees, let them into the Command of the *City Militia*; out of which *Egg* (as one ſays) came forth the *Cockatrice* of *Rebellion.* Thus was poor *England* frighted out of a *Dream* of *Dangers* into cutting of *Throats* in *Earneſt*: Out of a fear of *Popery*, into a proſtitution even of *Chriſtianity*; and out of an apprehenſion of *Tyranny* into a moſt deſpicable ſtate of *Slavery.*

No foresight wanting in the Faction.

Slavery. The Change of Government now in agitation, had been long in Project; and no foresight wanting for the furtherance of the design. None so diligent at the *Military-Yard*, or *Artillery-Garden*, as the zelots of the *Faction*; and upon the Vacancy of any considerable Employment there, who but they to put in for the Command? Nor were they less industrious to screw themselves into the Bench of *Aldermen* and *Common-Council*, insomuch that a Motion was made there (with an Eye to two *beggerly*, and *Fanatical Captains*,) that *Honest men*, (for that's their Name when they are their own Godfathers) *might bear the* Magistracy, *and the* City *the* expence. But what did all this amount to, without a *Fond* of *Men*, Mony, *Arms*, and *Ammunition*, to carry on the Work? So that their business was now to make sure of the CITY, as the only means of their supply: But *that*, they found could never be brought about, without a *Lord Mayor* for their Turns; Or else reducing the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* to a *Level* with the *Commons*: and establishing a firm correspondence betwixt *Westminster*, and *Guild-hall*, the *One* to *Contrive*, and the *Other* to *Execute*. So that this was the thing they pitch'd upon, and the manner of their proceeding was as follows.

The Faction could do nothing without the City.

The Practices of the Faction upon the Common-Council.

Having *Pharisaically*, and *Invidiously* divided the people into *Two Partys*; *Themselves* forsooth, the *Godly Party*, and the *Friends* of the *Government*, the *Papists*: a little before St. *Thomas*'s day 1641. (when the City chuses their *Common-Council*) they calumniated the *Old Common-Council men*, as men too much inclining to the *Court*; sticklers for *Episcopacy*, and the *Common-prayer*; and not at all zealous for *Religion*, (just as we cry out against *Papists*, and *Pensioners* now adays;) by this practice, they worm'd out *Honest men*, and chose *Schismaticks* into their places: and instead of Sir *George Benyon*, Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Clark*, Mr. *Gardiner*; *Deputy Withers*, Mr. *Cartwright*, and other Loyall, and *considerable Citizens*; they took in *Foulk* the *Traytor*, *Perkins*, (my *Lord* Say's *Taylor*,) and Others of the same stamp and Value.

The Common Council impos'd upon by the Faction beyond president.

Now though the *Election* be on St. *Thomas* day, they are never *Return'd* yet before the *Munday* after *Twelfth*; nor allow'd to Act as *Common-Council men* till the *Indentures* of their *Election* be *Returned* from the *Wardmoot Inquest* to the *Town-Clerk*; and a *Warrant* Issu'd from the *Lord Mayor* to *the Serjeant of the* Chamber to Summon them. But the Faction however made bold to dispence

pence with these *Puntillo's*, (though the constant *Rule* and *Custome* of the *City*) and a *Common-Council* being held *December* 31. 1641. by the *Kings Expres's Order*, all that Gang of the *New Choice*, thrust themselves in, and took their places with the *Old*. This Intrusion was opposed by several, but out of respect to a *Message* from his *Majesty* which was then brought them by the Lord *Newbourgh*, complaining of *Tumults* about *White-hall*, and *Westminster*, and recommending to the care of the City, the preventing of any further disorders: the question was let fall from the present; and the Court apply'd themselves to dispatch an answer to his Majesty; which was in effect, an *acknowledgment* of his *gracious Goodness* expres't to the *City*; the *Courts* disavowing of the *Tumults*; their promise of doing their best for the future *to prevent*, or *suppres's* them, and their humble desire that whosoever should be found guilty of them, might be brought to condign punishment.

On the *Last* of *December*, the House of Commons under pretence of finding themselves in danger, sent to the King for a *Guard*, but it must be a *Guard out of the City of* London, *and to be commanded by the Earl of* Essex. To which Message, his Majesty offer'd them, *Jan.* 3. a *Guard* of his own appointment for their security: But this Trick would not pass upon the King: so that they were forc'd to do their business another way. *Ex. Col* 44 *Ex. Col.* 45

Upon the *Fifth* of *Jan. another Common-Council* was call'd by the *Kings Order*, when his Majesty was pleased, in person to acquaint the Court with the Reasons of his demanding the *five Members* the day before: admonishing them to harbour or protect those men in the City. *Fowke* and his new Brethren (contrary to all Right or President) were got in again, and there he most audaciously affronted his Majesty with a Discourse of *fears* and *Jealousies*, *Priviledges of Parliament*, &c. the King only replying in effect, that they were dangerous *men*, and that they should have a *Legal Tryal*. The King goes to the Common-Council.

On the same day (being *Wednesday*) the House adjourned till the *Tuesday* following, and Order'd a Committee to set next morning at *Guild-hall*; taking upon themselves little less then Soveraign Power. The Committee met at *Grocers Hall*, where the *Five Members* met, under the Guard of the City-Train'd-Bands, where they past such Votes of Priviledge as never any Age heard of before, extending it even to the *Exempting* and justifying of *Treason* it *self*. The Commons adjourn; and remove into the City.

On

The Committees Vote at *Grocers Hall.*

On *Saturday, Jan.* 8. upon a Debate for the safe meeting of the *Five Members* at *Westminster* the Tuesday following; the Result was, *That the* Sheriffs of London *should and might raise a Guard of the Train'd-Bands, for the Defence of the* King *and* Parliament; *and that they might warrantably march out of their Liberties.* A Rout of Sea-men offering their service by water, as the Other by Land. This Subject set all the Puritan Pulpits on work to inflame the People against their *Soveraign* in favour of the *Five Members.*

The King withdraws from *London.*

Upon the fatall 10*th* of *January*, the King was forc'd to withdraw from *London*, which was then left at the Mercy of the Faction, and that very day, the Indentures of the *Election* were Return'd: Upon all Questions about These *Elections*, the Decision was formerly in the *Lord Mayor* and Court of Aldermen; but by the Violence and Importunity of these New Intruders, it is left to a *Committee* of the *Common-Council*, (being the Committee also for *the safety of the City* (so call'd): This *Committee* was their first approach toward the *Militia*; and then follow'd another: for putting the City into a *Posture* of *Defence*, consisting of *Six Aldermen* and *Twelve Commoners*, most of them of the New Cutt; and 300*l. per annum* allow'd to *Skippon*, as an assistant to the Committee.

They sett'e the Militia.

Having already modell'd the Common-Council to their liking they furnish themselves with all sorts of *Military Provisions*; augment the Train'd-Bands, from 6000. to 8000. the *Six Aldermen* are made Colonels, and the *Committee* for the *Posture of Defence*, are to choose their Officers; the authority of *Summoning Common Councils* is taken away from the *Lord Mayor*, and lodg'd in people of the Faction; and whensoever they'l have One call'd, the *Lord Major* must obey, without so much as asking a Reason for't.

And strip the Mayor of his priviledges.

They took away his Power also of *Dissolving* them, and kept him to his seat, till they thought fit to discharge him.

And again, whereas all Proposals were formerly offer'd to the Court, and all *Questions* put by the *Recorder* from the *Lord-Mayor*; when the Faction had any thing to propound, wherein the *Lord Mayor* would neither Command the *Recorder*, nor the *Recorder* act without the *Lord Mayor*, *Ven*, *Pennington* and *Vassel* help'd them out at a dead lift, with an Order from the House of Commons.

And finally, they brought the Orderly Constitution of the City

ty-Government to a *Level*, confounding *Mayor*, *Aldermen* and *Commons* in the Blending of their Votes.

The *Schiſmatiques* have now got the *Riches* and the Strength of the City in a manner at their own Diſpoſal, For if the *major* part of the *Common-Council* may *Call*, *Continue* and *Diſſolve* the Court at pleaſure, put what *Queſtions* they liſt, and Determine all things by a *Plurality of Votes*, there needed little more then a Pack't *Common-Council* to do their buſineſs. The Faction Maſters of the City.

Let us conſider now the Harmony betwixt the *Two Juncto's* of *Weſtminſter*, and the *City*. The *Commons Jan.* 26. *Petition'd* his Majeſty about the *Tower*, *Forts*, and the *Militia*: to which his Majeſty returns them a Refuſal, *Jan.* 28. in the moſt obliging Terms imaginable, telling them, *that he did not doubt, that his having granted more then ever* King *had* granted, *would ever perſwade his Houſe of Commons to* ask *more then ever* Subjects *had* ask'd. The Commons Petition about the Militia. Ex Col. 61.

About the beginning of *Feb.* there was held a Common-Council; which ſat till One in the Morning. When the Court was quite weary, and tir'd out, *Ven* took that Opportunity of preſenting an Order of the Commons, deſiring a return of the Names of thoſe Perſons whom the City intruſted with the *Militia* of *London*. The Court was a little ſurpriz'd at it; but yet being deſirous to be gone, and conſidering whatſoever paſt at One Council was in courſe to be debated at another, ſent the Names of the *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*, in return to the Houſes Order. By this fetch, the *Lord Mayor*, *Sheriffs*, and *Court of Aldermen*, were underſtood to have voluntarily relinquiſhed their Own Intereſt, and lodg'd the Power of the *Militia* in the *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*, whereof the *Major Part* was wholly at the Devotion of *Ven*, and his complices. At the next *Common-Council*, upon reading the Orders of the laſt meeting, ſome of the *Aldermen* *Proteſted* againſt them; as having no thought, of either ſhutting out the *Mayor*, or making the *Committee* ſo *abſolute* as they found the two Houſes had done. Whereupon it was mov'd that the Houſes might be *Petition'd* to reverſe the *Order*. But that being carryed in the *Negative*, *Ven* produces another Order for the adding of *Skippon* to the *Committee* for the *Militia*, which was carry'd without much Difficulty. A Trick put upon the Lord Mayor & Aldermen.

The Government of the City affronted.

The Court of *Aldermen* reflecting upon the Indignities caſt upon the *Mayor* and *Government* of the *City*, Petition'd the Houſe apart from the Commons, that the Mayor and Sheriffs might be nominated *of the Committee*, but to no purpoſe; For they knew Sir *Richard Gourny* was a perſon of two much Honour and Loyalty, to comply with their Deſignes. After this Repulſe, ſeveral of the moſt Eminent Citizens, both for Worth and Eſtates, Petition'd the *Two Houſes* in *their own Names* for the Removal of That Scandal, but their was no relief to be had; and they were barbarouſly treated for their pains over and above. Sir *George Benyon* (to his Honour) as the framer and chief Promoter of that moſt reaſonable Petition, was fin'd 3000*l*. *Diſfranchiz'd in the* City, *never to bear Office in the Kingdom, to be Committed for two year to* Colcheſter Goal, *and at the end of the Term to give ſecurity for his good Behaviour. Methinks the bare Recital of This Inhumane Inſolence ſhould turn the Blrod of every honeſt Citizen.*

The Tyranny of this Committee.

This *Committee* was now become the Maſters of the Militia; they remov'd Sir *Richard Gourny*, and put *Pennington* into his place; they make *Ordinances* to paſs for Laws, and *Rebellion*, to be a point of *Conſcience*, they perſecute the *Orthodox Clergy*, *Oppreſs* their *Fellow Citizens*, and the whole *Nation*; and where they have not *Credit* to *borrow*, they make uſe of their *Power* to *Take away*, living upon the Spoil, without any regard to the Laws either of God or Man. And to ſhew the world that as the Faction had *ſubverted* the *Government* of the *City*, ſo they intended to perpetuate the ſlavery: See as follows.

Viceſimo Octavo, *Februarii* 1648.

An Act of the Commons of England *in Parliament Aſſembled, For Removing Obſtructions in the Proceedings of the* Common-Council *of the* City *of* London.

THe *Commons of* England, *in Parliament aſſembled, do Enact, and Ordain, and be it Enacted and Ordained by the Authority aforeſaid, that in all times to come, the* Lord Mayor *of the ſaid City of* London, *ſo often and at ſuch time as any* 10. *or* more *of the* Common-Council-men *do by Writing under their hands, requeſt or deſire him thereunto, ſhall ſummon, aſſemble, and hold a* Common Council, *and if at any time being ſo required or deſired he ſhall fail therein, then the* ten perſons, *or* more *making ſuch requeſt or deſire, ſhall have Power, and are hereby Authorized by Writing under their hand, to ſummon or cauſe to be ſummoned, to the ſaid Council, the Members belonging thereunto, in as ample manner as the* Lord Mayor *himſelf uſually hath done, and that the Members appearing upon the ſame Summons, being of the Number of* 40. *or* more, *ſhall become a* Common-Council, *And that each Officer whoſe duty it ſhall be to warn in, and Summon the Members of the ſaid Councill, ſhall perform the ſame from time to time upon the Warrant or Command of* ten perſons *or* more *ſo authorized as aforeſaid: And it is further Enacted and Ordained, by the authority aforeſaid, that in every* Common Council *hereafter to be aſſembled, the* Lord Mayor *of the ſaid City for the time being, or in his abſence, ſuch* Locum tenens *as he ſhall appoint, and in default thereof, the* Eldeſt Alderman *preſent if any be, and for want of ſuch* Alderman *or in caſe of his neglect, or refuſal therein, then any other* perſon *Member of the ſaid Council whom the Commons preſent in the ſaid Council ſhall chuſe, ſhall be from time to time* Preſident *or* Chairman *of the ſaid Council; and ſhall cauſe and ſuffer all things offered to or propoſed in*

the said Council to be fairly and orderly debated, Put to the Question, Voted, and Determined, in and by the same Council, as the Major part *of the Members present in the said Council shall desire or think fit; and in every Vote which shall pass, and in the other Proceedings of the said Council, neither the* Lord Mayor *nor* Aldermen, joynt, *or* Separate, *shall have any* negative *or* distinct Voice, *or* Vote, *otherwise then with, and among, and as part of the rest of the Members of the said* Council, *and in the same manner as the other Members have; and that the absence and withdrawing of the* Lord Mayor, *or* Aldermen *from the said* Council, *shall not stop or prejudice the proceeding of the said* Council. *And that every* Common-Council *which shall be held in the* City *of* London, *shall sit and continue so long as the* Major part *of the Council shall think fit, and shall not be* dissolved, *or* adjourned *but by and according to the Order or Consent of the* Major part *of the same* Council: *And that all the* Votes *and* Acts *of the said* Common-Council *which was held* 13 January *last, after the departure of the* Lord Mayor *from the same* Council, *and also all Votes and Acts of every* Common-Council *hereafter to be held, shall be from time to time duely Registred as the Votes and Acts of the said Council have used to be done, in time past. And be it further Enacted and Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that every Officer which shall sit in the said* Council, *shall be from time to time chosen by the said* Council, *and shall have such reasonable allowance or Salary, for his pains and service therein, as the* Council *shall think fit: And that every such Officer shall attend the said* Common-Council, *and that all* Acts *and* Records *and* Register Books *belonging to the said* City, *shall be extant, to be perused and searched into by every* Citizen *of the said City, in the presence of the Officer who shall have the Charge of keeping thereof, who is hereby required to attend for the same purpose.*

Hen. Scobel, *Cler. Parliament.*

Take

Take notice that the *Vote* of *Common-Council* in the Act above-recited of *Jan.* 13. 1648. when the *Lord Mayor* went off, and dismissed the *Court*, was a *Treasonous Vote*, *for the speedy bringing of the King to Justice.*

You have here the State of the *New-Model'd Government* of the City (and effectually of the whole *Nation*) together with the Methods of *Hypocrisy* and State that brought us into that miserable Condition. And what were they but *Canting Sermons*, *Popular Petitions*, *Tumults*, *Associations*, *Impostures*, and *Disaffected Common-Councils*? We have likewise set forth how these Advantages were gain'd with their Natural Tendency to the Mischiefs they produc'd. And who were they that promoted and brought all these Calamities upon us, but men of *desperate Fortunes* and *Principles*, *Male-contents*, *broken Tradesmen*, *Coblers*, *Thimble-makers*, *Dray-men*, *Ostlers*, and a world of this sort of People, whose Names are every where up and down in the History of our late Confusions; Men of *Ambition* and *Interest*, and agreeing in nothing else but an United Disaffection both to *Church* and *State*. *The contrivers of all these mischiefs* (says his Late Majesty) *know what overtures have been made by them; and with what Importunity for Offices and Preferments; what great Services should have been done for us; and what other Undertakings were (even to have sav'd the Life of the Earl of* Strafford) *if we would confer such Offices upon them.* And *Henry Martin* very Honestly blurted it our, *A pox ô your snivling for Religion* (says he) *we fight for Liberty*: And all their bawling to put other people out of Employment was only to get themselves In. Thus they went on till the Government was made a Prey to the Faction; and the deluded Multitude too late made sensible of their Errours.

How we were destroyed, and By whom.

Ev. Col. 534.

Methinks the People of *England*, after all this Experience, should be both *Wiser* and *Honester*, then by treading the same steps over again, to re-engage themselves in the same *Miseries* and *Crimes*: Or if both *Conscience* and *Common Prudence* should have quite forsaken us, the very *shame*, methinks of being fooled over again the same way, should move us to bethink our selves. Or if that very *shame* were lost too, it was so *Base*, so *Scandalous* a *Servitude*; we were *Slaves* to the Meanest of the *Rabble*: And our *Masters* were a greater Infamy to us then our Fetters; the very *Ignominy* cannot but work an *Indignation* in any thing that wears the Soul of an *Englishman*.

We must be mad to engage in New Troubles.

This

The Factions Ingratitude.

This Paper and occasion will not bear the tracing of their *Ingratitudes* and *Tyrannies* at length; but in short, how barbarously did they treat even their Idoliz'd *House* of *Commons*; their *Assembly*; nay their *Covenanting Brethren* the *Scots*; when they follow'd them from *Newark* even to their Borders with a body of Horse at their Heels? their *Generall*, and the *Army* that set them up: in a most Eminent manner the City of *London*, though (as the Faction order'd it) the very Nurse and Supporteſſe of the Rebellion.

The Methods of our Late Troubles fresh in our Memories.

His *Sacred Majesty* can never forget by what means his Blessed *Father* was *Murther'd*; nor the *Bishops* forget the abuse and Profanation of the *Pulpits* even to the Extirpating of the Holy *Order*; the *Nobility* and *Gentry* can never forget the Illusions that were put upon them under the Appearance of *Religion* and *Duty*, by men that were void of both; neither certainly can the *Common people* forget how they were conjur'd into a Circle by *Sermons*, *Petitions*, and *Covenants*; when there was no getting out again.

Ungrateful to the City.

We'l see a little of their *Ingratitude* now to the City of *London*; and whether they far'd any better then other people. First they stript them of the *Militia*, then of their *Charter* and *Priviledges*, they turn'd their Government *Topsy Turvy*: *Tax'd*, *Disarm'd*, *Imprison'd*, and *Plunder'd* at pleasure; took down their *Chaines*, and *Posts*, *Quarter'd Souldiers* upon them, *Garrison'd* the *Tower*, and several other places of the City; the Army Marching in Triumph through it, for the aggravation of their Slavery; they degraded the *Lord Mayor Reynoldson*, *Fin'd* him 2000*l.* and Committed him to the *Tower April* 21. 48. for refusing to publish the *Proclamation* for *Abolishing* the *Kingly Office*: they Threatned to *set fire to the City*, and lay it in the *Dust*, telling the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, in a Letter about the beginning of *Aug.* 1647. *that they were unable to defend either the Parliament or themselves*; *and demanding to have the City deliver'd into their hands*; *which was submitted to*, *upon Conditions*, *of relinquishing the* Militia, *and* 11. Members, *delivering up the* Forts, *and* Tower *of* London, *and all* Magazins, *and* Arms *therein*, *to the Army*, disbanding *their Forces*, *turning out all* Reformades, *and drawing off their* Guards *from the* Parliament. In *Walkers Hist.* of *Independency*, these Particulars are to be seen at large.

The Plot driven on principally by Petitions.

It is remarkable, that what other means soever were occasionally made use of, the Plot was still driven on, from First to Last,

Last, mainly by PETITIONS, but none were admitted on the Other ſide: For ſo ſoon as ever any *Petition* appear'd that croſt the Factions Intereſt; (as in ſeveral Caſes from the *Agitators* or the *City* of *London*) there was preſently *a ſtrict enquiry after the Authours and Actors of them, and the Deſign immediately cruſht.* They ſhould have taken in the SUBSCRIBERS too, and Iſſu'd out a *Commiſſion of Enquiry*, wherein all the *Marks*, and *Subſcriptions*, produced in the *Names* of *ſo many thouſand Petitioners*, were really the *Acts*, and *Atteſtations* of the *Perſons ſo Named*, and what Arts and Menaces were made uſe of for their procurement. No unneceſſary caution, even in our preſent Caſe, to diſtinguiſh the *Sober*, and *well-meaning Subſcribers*, from the *Fierce* and *Bloody Fifth-Monarchy men*, and other Sects that hold affinity with them; It being notoriouſly known, that a Mark is ſet upon the Refuſers by thoſe Factions, who are the violent ſticklers in this proceeding, which carries the face rather of an *Intended Maſſacre*, then a *Petition*. This will ſeem no uncharitable Conſtruction, when I ſhall tell you what a Noble Lord ſaid in the Houſe of *Peers*, *Dec.* 19. 42. *They cheerfully undertook* (ſays he) *to ſerve againſt that Army wherein they knew their Own Fathers were*; *and on my Conſcience* (ſays he) *I ſpeak it to their Honour had they met them alone they would have ſacrific'd them to the Commands of both Houſes.* And now you ſhall ſee their *Piety* expounded in another part of the ſame Speech. *They* (ſays he) *who think that Human Laws can bind the Conſcience, and will examine the Oaths they have taken, according to the Interpretations of* Men, *will in time fall from us*: *but ſuch who* Religiouſly *conſider that ſuch* Moral Precepts *are fitter for* Heathens, *then for* Chriſtians; *will not faint in their Duty.*

A way to diſcover Counterfeits.

Dutiful Children.

A Diſpenſation for perjury.

To bring this Pamphlet to a Concluſion, we ſhall only ſay this further in juſtification of it, that it was written with a very *Honeſt Intention*; that the matter of *Fact* is partly upon *Certain Knowledg*, and partly upon the credit of very *Warrantable Papers*. The principal Scope of it was, to lay open the *Miſtery* and *Method* of the *Late Rebellion*; and ſo to expoſe it, that the *ſame Project*, and *Model* may not be made uſe of for *Another*.

The End.

The Bookſellers Advertiſement, *Feb.* 27. $167\frac{9}{80}$.

WHereas there are ſeveral Diſcourſes and Pamphlets abroad in the World, that paſſe for the Writings of Mr. *Roger L'Eſtrange*; wherein he never had any hand at all; This is to Advertiſe the Reader, that ſince *Sept.* 1678. he hath Publiſh'd theſe following Pieces, and no other.

The Reformed Catholique.

The Hiſtory of the Plot.

The Free-born Subject.

The Caſe Put.

An Anſwer to the Appeal.

Twenty Select Calloquies of Eraſmus, *in Engliſh.*

The Parallel, or, *The Growth of Knavery.*

A Seaſonable Memoriall.

A Dialogue.

A Further Diſcovery of the Plot, with a Letter to Dr. Titus Oates.

Tully's *Offices, in Engliſh.*,